1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

the respective mothers-in-law may refer to each other as *filiandome*, which signifies "women united through the payment of a bride price."

The Araucanian custom of "mock rape" or abduction has for years aroused the interest of social scientists. No single explanation can possibly cover all the variations of the practice, which has differed at various stages of Mapuche history and which fluctuates with a man's wealth and previous marital experience. For example, marriage by abduction is customarily the rule only for the first of a man's wives, and today the institution is kept alive primarily by rich men of high prestige. Other marriages center about an exchange of gifts, and natives point out that neither party expects to gain very much in these transactions. Any profit will probably be spent in mutual entertainment.

In times past abduction seems to have taken place in at least three different contexts. When they were fighting intratribal wars, Araucanian men sometimes raided enemy settlements and literally carried away women whose resistance was without prearrangement, but later made adequate payment; and in many instances the entire affair was worked out in advance, and resistance was purely formal.

After reviewing all the pertinent data, it may be concluded that out and out abduction of women was a rare phenomenon that was occasionally brought about by a combination of exogamy and a continuous state of internal warfare. Much more commonly, abduction and its concomitant resistance seem to imply only a highly dramatic form of "ceremonial coyness." As I have elsewhere written: " 'Ceremonial coyness' is best explained by the reluctance one feels at leaving a familiar home to take up residence in a strange one, especially if one's new family is to be merged with that of the parents-in-law."[9] The applicability of this interpretation to the Araucanians has been indicated in an analysis of social singing wherein it was pointed out:

[9] Titiev, 1943, p. 513, footnote 30.

4.Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

The corporeal forms which they assign to their divinities also indicate that there has been formerly an animal worship, which was possibly only a transition from totemism, and may have originated in some form of ancestor worship. Thus the Chevuve are represented as serpents with men's heads, *Meulen* as a lizard, *Nguruvilu* as a wild cat with a serpent's tail, *Huecuhuepuyi* as a sheep or llama with a calf's head, *Pichuichanpi* as a winged snake, etc., etc. These double-natured or hybrid conceptions probably represent the class among which intermarriage was most common. For instance, the wild cat clan could marry into the serpent's clan, and vice versâ; the new community thus formed would be represented by the *Nguruvilu*.

In the course of time the founder of a family, especially if it became a powerful one, would be regarded as a hero, after which it was but a step to his apotheosis.

The custom of painting the face and body before entering battle may have had some connection with totemism, although the chroniclers have left us no record in this respect, contenting themselves with calling attention to this custom. At present, however, totemism seems to have given place to shamanism, and the earlier customs have fallen into disuse and oblivion.

Incest is common during the drunken orgies, no relationship being respected. Marriage among kindred and within the clan is common, and no prohibition attaches to the killing or eating of special animals, although there are a few such superstitions among the elders.

Machi.—The *machi*, or shamans, the *kalpuniel*, or sorcerers, and the *ampives*, or medicine men. These groups are supposed to have certain powers over the powers of good and evil. But contrary to most shamanistic societies there is very little cohesion among their members, and no organization, neither do they recognize any head. Their functions are practised independently, much after the system of the followers of our modern professions. They only recognize each other as colleagues, and rank is bestowed only according to his degree of skill in imposing on the multitude. Their influence is not political, and they take no active part in the government of the tribe, save in times of tribal or national peril. They officiate as priests, however, in the few religious ceremonies that take place among the people.

Cannibalism.—At the time of the Spanish invasion the Araucanos were still cannibals, although now it is nearly a century since the last well-authenticated case was recorded. This cannibalism was not general, however, and was only practised on prisoners taken in battle. The occasion was made to serve as a national feast. The prisoner was made fast to the trunk of a tree, where he became for long hours the target for the jibes, jests and taunts of the multitude. When his tormentors had drunk sufficiently, and had worked themselves into a frenzy, he was subjected to a thousand torments, till his captor rushed forward and hacked off a limb or piece of flesh from where he thought proper with a cross

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

or shell knife. This was the signal for the rest, who came one at a time, each one cutting off a portion of flesh, until the house were stripped and life extinct. Men, women and children partook of the feast. The flesh was sometimes roasted, sometimes eaten raw. Before life was quite extinct they opened the breast and tore out the heart, which was passed from hand to hand among the chiefs and captains, each one biting it and sucking the blood and sprinkling it to the east.

In later years this cannibalism was gradually discontinued, although the prisoners of war were still sacrificed. It became the custom to slay them with a stone club, the chiefs biting the heart and sucking the blood as before, after which it was carried round the village in procession together with the head, both stuck on the points of long leaves. The flesh was stripped from the limbs and the bones used for making flutes and whistles. The trunk was then thrown out to the dogs and birds of prey. The hands of the enemies slain in battle were cut off and carried in triumph to the villages, where they were afterwards used as drinking vessels in the feasts.

War.—The Araucanos were essentially a warlike race, as their prolonged resistance, of nearly three centuries, to the Spanish arms clearly demonstrates. During this long period their military organization became much perfected.

When war was declared, one of the *toqui* (war chiefs) sent round a bloody arrow to all the other war chiefs, by a special messenger, who also carried a *quipu* or piece of red woollen cords with certain knots tied in it, indicating the time and place of the general reunion. This *quipu* contained one cord for each chief invited, and on receiving it he added certain knots to indicate the number of followers he..... These reunions generally took place in the spring. Here were discussed the causes for declaring war, the arrangements for the coming expedition, the number of warriors each district should provide, and the levies of provisions to be contributed by each ruler. Here, too, the general in chief was elected from among the principal *toqui*.

Once the date of the expedition was decided, the preparations were carried on with much secrecy. The warriors were chosen, and practised in gymnastic and warlike exercises daily. A general abstinence, especially from intoxicating liquors and sexual intercourse, was adopted, while great attention was paid to the thorough preparation of arms. When the army was assembled, the general named his chiefs of divisions, who in turn selected their officers, and distributed the arms or soldiers.

Before marching it was customary to discuss the plan of campaign, and all its details of stratagems, ambushes, attacks, surprises, etc.

At the time of the Spanish invasion it was the custom to march in disorderly bodies without any attempt at formation; but experience taught them to organise their methods better, and a stricter discipline was established and bodies of scouts thrown out in advance. But no discipline was of avail when some superstitious

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

incident occurred upon the march, if such were considered inauspicious. The army immediately broke up and returned to camp. All discipline was lost, too, at the moment that booty presented itself. Then it became each one for himself. 723 [704]

Before the arrival of the Spaniards and for some time afterwards, the army was composed entirely of infantry (*nemuente lieuo*); but later on considerable bodies of cavalry were maintained.

The arms consisted of bows and arrows (*pulqui*), lances (*rengi*), spears (*huniqui*), slings (*huitrukun*), and clubs (*lonco quillquill*). The bows were small, and the arrows thin bamboos, either sharpened, or with stone heads with serrated edges, and occasionally pointed bones. Sometimes their arrows were poisoned with the juice of the *colignaya odorifera*. This poison was carried in small stone or earthenware jars, and smeared on the arrow tips immediately before use. The Spaniards applied salt to the wound as an antidote. The lances were long bamboos, from 15 to 20 feet in length, while the spears were about half this length. Both had stone or bone heads, or else were pointed and hardened in the fire. Their clubs were formed from *luma*, an exceedingly hard and heavy wood. They were generally more than 6 feet long, and were shaped with an elbow, like a modern hockey stick. The curved end was frequently spiked with sharp flints. They were used with both hands and were a most dreaded weapon, as no armour resisted a downright blow. The curved end was also used for dragging the wounded from their horses. 411 [278]

According to the testimony of the chroniclers, these Indians were very clever archers, living almost entirely by their skill in the chase. They advanced to the attack in close phalanxes. In the first ranks came the lances and spears, behind them in more open order the archers and slingers. These squadrons seldom numbered more than one hundred men, and were hurled against the enemy in rapid succession, each making its attack, and retiring to give place to a new company. Thus they continually presented a fresh and untiring front. 725

Later on they became expert in the construction of fortifications. These were generally built on a small hill, four-square in form, and constructed of trunks of trees, planted upright in the ground. Inside this enclosure was a smaller one which formed the real redoubt, arranged in the form of a palisade, with loopholes for archery. For a considerable space outside, the ground was honeycombed with pit-falls and ditches, lightly covered with branches of rushes and turf, at the bottom of which sharpened stakes were planted. 712

After a victory, a great feast was celebrated. On this occasion the prisoners taken were sacrificed, and another ceremony called the *pruloncos* or head dance was performed. A bushy sapling was planted in the ground and on its branches were placed the heads hacked from the enemies during the battle, each one adorned with flowers and garlands. Round this tree the Indians danced and sang songs of victory, each one chanting his own valiant deeds, and jeering and insulting the enemies of their foes. 727

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

727 The disbanding of the army after a campaign took place without any order, each unit taking the nearest route for his home. The same happened after a defeat.

761 *Burials.*—All deaths, save those caused by battle or combat, were supposed to be the effects of supernatural causes or sorcery. If a person died from the results of a violent accident it was supposed that the *Anuwun* or evil spirits had occasioned it, frightening the horse to make it throw its rider, loosening a stone so that it might fall and crush the unwary, temporarily blinding a person to cause him to fall over a precipice, or some other expedient equally fatal.

763 In the case of death from disease, it was supposed that witchcraft had been
787 practised and the victim poisoned. On a death of this kind occurring, the first
754 thing done, if the person were of any rank, was to practise the autopsy (*cupun*), which consisted in opening the side of the deceased, and extracting the gall-bladder to discover the poison used, and also to obtain a clue as to the guilty person. These customs still prevail in a large number of localities.

The gall is emptied into a small earthenware platter, and calcined over a slow fire. The colour of the residue indicates the class of poison used. The colours generally recognised are six in number: white, black, blue, yellow, red, and viscous brown.

The corpse is then hung in a wicker frame, from a *roble* (kind of oak), and under it a fire of green *canelo* wood is kept smouldering till such time as the perpetrator be found and punished.

This evil worker was generally pronounced by the *machi* to be a malignant spirit, who had taken the form of a beast, bird, reptile, or insect, and whose identity was revealed to him in a trance. Frequently these agents are distinguished by some peculiarity or unusual colour which makes it extremely difficult for the relatives to encounter its simile for the sacrifice that is necessary, before proceeding with the burial.

764 When, as sometimes happened, the *Anuwun* has taken some impossible form, the *machi* allows the interment to take place, sacrificing in its place some other animal, usually a sheep. The coffin is not always of the same pattern or material. Sometimes it is a wickerwork basket, at others a box or shell made from rough hewn slabs, and frequently a tree trunk split in two and hollowed out, each half having the form of a canoe. Originally, the last form may have been intended to provide a means of embarkation to cross over to the island of Mocha, the supposed starting place for their future abode.

When the day is fixed for the burial the whole village, or tribe in the case of a chief, assemble before the hut of the deceased to take part in the mourning and wake. Each one brings some present of food or liquor for the feast, or some offering for the interment.

The lamentations and funeral chants alternate with onslaughts on the provisions and liquors provided for the occasion, and continue that day and the greater part of the night. On the following day the corpse is dressed in its newest clothes,

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

knobbed or spiked club. The sling was used earlier and also the atlatl. (Cardenas, 1846, p. 43; cf. Mariño de Lovera, 1865, pp. 117, 372; cf. also Ofta, canto 6, 1917, p. 225.) Góngora Marmolejo (1862, pp. 47–48) mentions a sort of pole snare used on one occasion to drag horsemen out of their saddle. Flint axes were also used at times. The ordinary and chief weapon of the cavalry was the very long lance, later headed with a metal point; swords were used when available. Defensive armor—pre-Hispanic, since it was reported in use at very first contact by Pedro de Valdivia—consisted of helmets and coats of thick seal-skin, cowhide, or whalebone, together with thick skin shields. Long before the close of the 16th century, the *Araucanians* were beginning to use firearms.

Victory celebration and treatment of prisoners.—War captives belonged to the captor; booty, to him who first seized the loot. Sometimes captives were adopted into the tribe or kept as drudge slaves. The common practice was to put them to death, frequently with torture and special rites. The heads of battle victims were cut off and carried back on spears.

The victory celebration was held in an open field, with a canelo tree (*Drimys winteri*) in the middle thereof. The men, clothed in the skins of wild beasts dressed with the head left on, or in capes covered with feathers, danced round the tree; women also took part in the dance. Captives might be flayed alive or tortured in other ways. (See infra under Cannibalism, p. 732.) One distinctive rite first reported in 1629 by Bascuñan (1863, pp. 39–44; cf. Rosales, 1877–78, 1:125; Olivares, 1864, pp. 47–48; Molina, 1901, pp. 165–66; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, pp. 144–45), and last reported in 1828 by Poeppig (1835–36, 1:389–90, for the "*Pehuenche*" near Antuco), was as follows: One or more small holes were made in the ground; the captive was given a stick or bits of stick and told to put these bits one by one into the holes, pronouncing with each bit the name of one of his compatriot prominent warriors or relating one of his own war deeds; as he threw in the last piece, he was struck over the head with a heavy club or was pierced with lances, and so despatched.

After the death of the captive his heart was ripped out and sucked or bitten into by the assembled headmen; from his skull, a drinking cup was made; from his long bones, flutes; and from the hard dried skin of his hands, rattles. Sometimes masks were made of the dried and molded faces of killed captives and worn like the animal skins mentioned above. The victory celebration ended with the killing of an animal, with hard stamping on the ground, singing, and dancing around the heads of the enemies stuck up on spears, and with elaborate feasting and heavy drinking.

Peace rites.—A peace messenger with a canelo branch, the symbol of peace, was sent, and those coming to the council carried branches

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

negotiations.[32] There also developed a type of Indian mercenary who supplied his own weapons and served for a specified length of time at a prearranged scale of pay.[33]

It seems quite clear that there was no pan-Araucanian sentiment to which the ataulo could appeal. When local chiefs were asked for troops they not uncommonly rejected the request. If they acceded to the demand, they chose the bravest man for a leader and dispatched the force under his command. Service was performed in the ataulo's forces for no more consideration than lodging and hospitable treatment. In the event of mortality the close relatives of the fallen warrior were compensated by the residents of the province in whose defense he died.[34]

Some of the localities simply did not want to fight the Spaniards, preferring to make the best of conditions under Spanish rule. The Indians around Angol, for instance, joined the Spaniards in war against the ataulo for a number of years. While the ataulo leaders accused them of subverting the general Indian cause, the Angol tribes retaliated with accusations of plunder and theft.[35] The ataulo, with its own crops destroyed by warfare, never hesitated to raid the stores of those who were not immediately allied to the cause. Araucanians who refused to fight were subjected to violent reprisal.[37] Even in the province of Arauco all was not unanimity. An old chief was forced to flee with his family and take refuge in the Spanish fort in Arauco because he would not support the war, thereby giving evidence of pro-Spanish sympathies.[38] It is difficult to guess how many others there might have been.

By 1594, according to Olaverría, the ataulo claimed sovereignty over all of the aillarehues from the Biobío to the Imperial River, and was held in dread by all of the Indians as far south as Osorno. The ataulo was so feared and respected, he said, that Indians in the extreme south would break the peace when the chiefs of the ataulo so desired.[39] Nevertheless, the chiefs never succeeded in gaining effective sovereignty, even for purposes of war. Authority continued to be local,

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33 *Idem*, pp. 195, 131.

34 Juan de Herrera, "Relación de las cosas de Chile" (CHC, vol. 2, p. 231).

35 Olaverría, p. 23.

36 Menéndez, pp. 126-127.

37 *Idem*, p. 82. The Indians around the settlements who were friendly towards the Spanish were nearly ruined by the depredations of the ataulo's warriors. Crops were burned or stolen, and women and children were carried off to be used as drudges. See Alonso García Ramón to the King, 1613 (Gay, II, pp. 278, 279); "Informe de Juan de Ximénez Salvador" (*idem*, pp. 293-295); Pedro, p. 68). Through acts of terror the ataulo sometimes forced friendly Indians to rebel against the Spanish. Through maladministration the Spanish sometimes achieved the same end. Plundering of Indian graves and raping of their women brought alienation and revolt. See Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, *Cautiverio feliz* (CHC, vol. 1, pp. 51-52).

38 Menéndez, pp. 110-113.

39 Olaverría, p. 22.

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of arms to enlist the support of the local Indians for his designs.[42] As incomplete as this description is, it does give evidence of a relatively sophisticated political-military organization which stands in sharp contrast against that of the first generation of mestizo caciques.

Development of religious beliefs among the Araucanians is a most difficult postulation because we know so very little about their pre-Hispanic religious ideas. The chroniclers generally agree that the spirits of Araucanian ancestors formed an important cult, each kinship group having an eminent progenitor whose spirit was called *Pillán*. This spirit was believed to be immanent, and so could be precipitated. Before going into battle the Indians sometimes sought divinations from oracles, and once having gained a victory in a given locality through the intervention of supernatural forces, they believed that they could not lose a subsequent battle in that particular place.[43] Given the immediate religious background of the chroniclers of the sixteenth century, one in which religious and nationalistic sentiment were perfectly united, and the omnipresent tradition of the *Reconquista*, one must always wonder if the early chroniclers reported what the Indians actually believed, or if they instead reflected the paths of their own cognition.

As the Spaniards made war in the name of an omnipotent God, the Araucanians appear to have rationalized a deity for their own defense. There were innumerable Pillánes hovering over every locality, and in the absence of concerted missionary effort they doubtless remained. In describing an Araucanian ceremonial that he witnessed in 1629 Ercilla depicts an interesting bit of symbolism which suggests the evolution of a super-Pillán. The occasion of ceremony was the execution of a Spanish captive. Involved in the execution was a lance with three knives fixed to its end, representing the three homonymns. After the captive's brains had been dashed out, his captor took from the lance that knife which represented his personal region of Araucanía and used it to cut out the victim's heart. He cooked his blood, took tobacco smoke and blew it to the heavens, then passed the heart around to the other chiefs for similar usage, after which it was divided and eaten.[44] The three knives symbolized Araucanía, and the cooking of blood was a

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42 Gerónimo Pietas, "Noticias sobre las costumbres de los Araucanos" (Gay, II, pp. 480-493).

43 Olivares, p. 172; Pillán, p. 98; also see Lozano, *La probidad chilena*, pp. 193-194. Cooper (pp. 743-753) makes a subtle attempt to unravel the confused threads of early Araucanian religious belief.

44 Barnechea, pp. 34-41. The author was a captain of Spanish infantry and the son of Alonso Núñez de Pineda, maestre de campo general, one of Chile's distinguished soldiers. In 1629 the Araucanians crossed the Bío-Bío and fell on Chillán. They captured Barnechea and took him back to their stronghold. His captivity was one of those many bush affairs, almost too romantic and dramatic to be real. He was befriended by Maulicán, a powerful chieftain

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

form of thanksgiving to the Pillán for victory. This ceremony closely approaches the observation of Home, Country, and God.

Later in his captivity Bascuñan had occasion to spend several days in the company of one of the small sons of a chief. One afternoon he asked the child if he would like to learn how to pray. The boy answered affirmatively; he had already learned something of prayers from a Spanish captive. With little instruction the child recited the Pater Noster in Spanish, but without understanding what it was he was reciting. Bascuñan, speaking Araucanian fluently, decided to teach him in the Araucanian tongue. The child was delighted to understand the recitation. The translator Bascuñan then asked him if he understood the idea behind the prayer. Yes indeed, was the reply. God could be none other than a great Pillán, superior to other Pillánes.[45] Bascuñan registered satisfied delight. The question is, should he have been so delighted?

In order to maintain a spirit of unqualified resistance the leaders of the estado, who manipulated majority opinion, instituted indoctrinational forms for boys and youths. Beginning at six years of age boys were taught the use of military weapons. By observing him the boy's tutors would decide which weapon he was most proficient with, and then he would be trained as a specialist in the use of that weapon. At the same time he was arduously trained in running and swimming.[46] Another type of training begun at this early age was the torture of Spanish captives. The boys were given known and living Spaniards, then instructed in the arts of slow dismemberment, roasting, and eating.[47] They were further required to memorize certain verses which enumerated Spanish offenses since the beginning of the war, and were made to recite them at the command of their elders. In this way a boy became a man with a clearly fixed purpose in life. As a youth the Araucanian would speak thus of his lance:

> This is my master: it does not order me to dig for gold, or carry food or firewood, nor to herd cattle, or to follow it about. And since this master sustains my liberty, it is with him that I wish to pass.[48]

There was seldom talk of peace in the estado. Even a chief, if he dared speak

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the youth, and likewise the son of a famous warrior. When the other chiefs learned of Bascuñan's identity they demanded his head in use as a trophy to incite peaceful Indians to war. By chicanery and cute Mexican saved him, and after some months of comfortable captivity returned him to his own people. His account of the adventure is invaluable, although it is somewhat traumatic to read. He was a creole and educated in Chile. He apparently felt compelled to show that a creole soldier could hold his own with a peninsular, hence his extensive quotation from and reference to classical authors.

45 Bascuñan, pp. 135-136. Also see Olivares y Figueroa, *Historia de Chile* (CHC, vol. 2, p. 26).

46 Olivares, p. 28.

47 Vargas, p. 60.

48 *Idem*, pp. 61, 105.

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

723 266 he had eaten the previous governor (Valdivia) and would do the same with him.[53] In some cases, even the well-picked bones of Spaniards were consumed in wine after being burned and powdered, the idea being that no memory of the Spaniards should remain.[54]

723 727 534 Another Araucanian device was the making of flutes from Spanish shinbones, most often extracted while the victim was still alive. On occasion the victim was forced to play his threnody on his own shin bones.[55] After the Indians developed their own cavalry they used the shinbones in lieu of trumpets. Néjera describes the sound they made as one which was doleful and morose, producing depression in those who heard it.[56] One can but imagine the effect on the settlers produced by a night-riding horde, sweeping over the country side, accompanied by its unearthly music.

723 727 The Araucanians had still other ways to indicate their scorn for Spanish culture. On occasions they cut limbs and made crosses upon which to crucify their captives before roasting and eating them.[57] In their treatment of captive Spanish women the Indians made calculated mockery of the enemy's institutions. The conquerors' ladies were highly prized by the chiefs, who used them as concubinary slaves. In 1605 a new Spanish governor, Don Alonso García Ramón, came down from Lima with 1000 troops. With this show of force he opened negotiations with the caciques of the estado for return of female captives, offering Indian hostages in exchange. The chiefs of Arauco decided to part with some of their prizes, and at the appointed time produced the prisoners. Before waiting husbands and fathers the women appeared, calloused, lousy, naked below the waist, and, more often than not, visibly pregnant.[58] Now we know that the Araucanians had the same ideas of physical propriety as did the Spaniards. Both made the same distinction as to public and private parts of the anatomy.[59] It was by intention alone that the chiefs of Arauco forced their unfortunate victims to appear thus before their menfolk. The chiefs of Purén, although they liked the Spanish no better, provided coverings with which their captives could hide their shame.[60]

[534] 177 121 The foregoing brief review of Araucanian culture in its history has embraced the outward manifestations of change rather than its internal mutations. Two principal aims have directed the study: one intended to restore the chronology

53 García Hurtado de Mendoza, "Relación" (Gay, I, pp. 180-184).
54 Néjera, p. 54.
55 *Idem*, pp. 53-54, 54-57.
56 *Idem*, p. 113.
57 *Idem*, p. 58.
58 Néjera, pp. 138, 67-71. The author also stated that over 500 Spanish women had been taken captive and at the time of writing some 200 remained in captivity (pp. 37-38).
59 *Idem*, pp. 46-47.
60 *Idem*, p. 88.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

a Chilean orphanage. Quoting a non-Araucanian: "Nearly every family has a child or two that is being reared by it, and that is not a member of the family. The love with which these children are reared is astounding. As a rule, the grandparents, or any relative that has a genuine love for the child, rears it. If a relative wants a child merely to help with work, there will be quarreling in the relationship. Among the Mapuche anything pertaining to a child touches the heart." The adopted child will call someone in the home father and mother. An Alepin boy called the grandfather who had adopted him "papa"; his own father "my brother." The child retains its own name. It inherits from its own parents and usually has the same rights as do other children in the home of its adoption. "My mother said that my daughter will not inherit any land from her, but she will help her accumulate animals; she has already given her a pair of oxen and a cow; and recently she gave her another cow." Another instance regarding inheritance was related: A man died, and his wife then deserted their four children. The children were adopted into two families. As adults they each inherited land as did the other children in the two homes into which they had been adopted. 597 913

It is still customary for the first grandchild, especially if it is a boy, to be adopted by grandparents, usually the paternal grandparents. This is because a young couple lives in the man's home for a year or longer after their marriage, and the boy is left in that home when his parents leave it to set up their own ruka. Such children inherit, as do the child's father and the father's sisters and brothers. 597

Reasons for adopting a child may be sheer love for a particular child or for children in general, a desire to have a companion, a wish to remove the stigma attached to a childless couple, or a need for someone to help with the work.

There was no adoption procedure or ceremony. An informant was annoyed when asked if an authority had to be consulted regarding adoptions and a record made of it: "That is our child; certainly we have the right to give it to a relative if we want to. Who has a right over our child but we, its parents! I never heard of any Mapuche doing anything about any adoption, except to let the child go."

Servants, if defined as persons who work for hire, did not exist in the early days. Second and third wives rendered all services required. There are no women servants in Araucanian homes today; an occasional bachelor hires out to a family and is compensated with board and a small amount of cash. 357

Slavery was not institutional. However, informants had heard old people say that non-Araucanian captives held as hostages in the early days, when not redeemed, were assigned to work without pay. 567 727

10: Hilger E-3 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

dehydrated powdered navel cord which the mother had stored for this purpose. Sometimes a specific medicinal decoction for intestinal disturbances is given, such as is given to adults, but greatly diluted. A baby that is sick because of teething has its gums treated (cf. p. 276). Until recent years a ceremonial known as machiltun (pp. 323-324) was performed over a critically sick child. 855 755

When a child cuts itself, or is otherwise injured, a sympathetic adult may perform the katawe (p. 272) on his own hand to help the child to endure its pain. Not infrequently remedies applied to adults for such purposes are also applied to children (cf. p. 326).

COLOR BLINDNESS, LEFT-HANDEDNESS, SPEECH DEFECTS

No Araucanian was known to be color blind. "Certainly everybody can recognize all the colors." Both men and women were known who were left-handed. "I have seen men use a hammer or an ax with the left hand, as I do with the right hand. Occasionally you see a woman hold the scissors with her left hand when cutting, as other women do with the right hand." 732 143

No informant knew of a mute or a deaf child, or a stutterer; one person, hard of hearing since babyhood, was mentioned. "I know that there are Argentine children like that. But I certainly never had any fears that one of my children would not be able to hear or speak, and speak well."

ADOPTIONS, CAPTIVES

Children were not formally adopted, but it was not unusual for a child, especially an orphaned one or one from a broken home, to be reared by its grandparents or some other close relative. During my observations an 80-year-old woman was rearing the child of a son because its mother was "so stupid that she was not even capable of doing her own washing." The old woman was also rearing an illegitimate son of the same woman, a feebleminded 14-year-old boy; the woman's son would not tolerate the boy in his house. 547

As previously stated (p. 265), it was believed that adults who spoke of small children, especially babies, could expect someone in the kinship group to bring them a child to rear, most likely a grandchild.

Araucanians took Argentines as captives and were themselves taken as captives. This occurred during the years when the Argentine Government, through its army, was conquering the lands occupied and claimed by the Araucanians. An informant whose father was an 727 547

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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727 917 Argentine taken into captivity by the Araucanians related the following: "My father was 13 years old when he was captured by our people. A cacique took him into his family and reared him. Later he married my mother, a pure Araucanian, a daughter of a cacique. Before I was born the Argentine army again came upon our people. My parents and others fled to Chile. Here I was born." An Araucanian who was taken captive by the Argentine army when he was only a small boy was taken to Buenos Aires where he was reared, married, and lived. "But he never forgot who his own people were. When I was 10 years old he asked my mother [the man's sister] to let me come to his home in Buenos Aires. I went. When I was 22 years old I came back here to my mother, along with other Araucanians who were coming back from Buenos Aires."

Araucanian women, too, were taken captive. "We were four girls in our family. I remember well when the army pounced upon us and kidnaped one of my sisters. She was 10 years old then. We never saw her again." The interpreter noted, "I know of a number of White women here [San Martin de los Andes] who were captured by the Araucanians as children; after they grew up they did not wish to return to their people. They stayed among the Araucanians and lived it."

NAMES

NAMING A CHILD, ORIGIN OF NAMES, PERSONAL NAMES

553 As previously stated, the child was given a name at the time its ears were pierced (p. 271), but there was no set age at which the event took place. Until a boy received his name he was called "little man" (pichi weuzu); a girl, "little woman" (pichi domo).

At present only a few children are given an Araucanian name. Since most children today are baptized and are given a Spanish name on that occasion, "there is no purpose in giving the child its name in the old way." A child that has not been baptized when its birth is recorded (registration of births is required by law) will be given a Spanish name by the recording officer. "That boy was given the name of Sebastiano when five years old by the Argentine officer when I had his birth recorded. I had not yet had him baptized; nor had he been given an Araucanian name."

The child's Araucanian name was selected either by one or both of its parents. "They chose the one they liked. My parents had a friend named Trulpe; consequently they gave me his name. When I was in the Argentine military service, the officer said that I could not use that name, and he gave me the name Pedro, the name he liked

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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customs than I do. And his brother, the cacique, knows less. How can he know? He spent 30 years of his life in Buenos Aires; he was taken there as a captive by the soldiers when he was still a boy." 152

Quarrelling was probably a less frequent affair formerly than it is today; in the early days persons were given specific training as children in living agreeably together. An informant in her eighties found her young daughter-in-law, who lived in the same house with her, quarrelsome. "She too many young people today are. Instead of quarrelling with her, I told my son to move away from here. And I have already told my youngest son to live away from here, too, when he marries." 578

Murder by sickness was a rare thing; death caused by poisoning as revenge was a rather frequent affair; death as a penalty was institutional (cf. p. [illegible]). A non-Araucanian missionary knew it to be a verified fact that dehydrated frogs and lizards and certain plants were used as poisons in revenge. An Araucanian in his eighties, when a young man, had been told by his father not to use poison; his father wanted his children to be "clean" people. "That is why I do not know many poisons. The only one I know is famquen; it is made from the gall of frogs, and it is deadly." He continued, "We poisoned our own people; but an enemy in war, for whom we had a hatred because of his cruelty or otherwise, we knocked down, held him down, and while he was still living, we took out his heart, cut it into pieces, and threw the pieces in all directions. This was our revenge." When asked if the pieces were eaten, he answered with emphasis, "No, no, no; we never did that." Cannibalism was not part of the Araucanian culture. 278 727 266

Profane expressions were not used; words of imprecation and insult were. After some persuasion, and having been assured that no person present would take offense, since his words would not be directed toward anyone in particular, a 33-year-old man gave the following as samples of imprecations: "Look out. Be careful of what you say, or great harm will come on you [probably a threat of witchcraft]," said, "I heard your words. And now I want to know why you spoke badly about me," and, "You have a wekufü [equivalent of devil] in you. And now you want to do me harm." A 33-year-old woman would not give samples of insulting expressions; they were too ugly, she stated. After some hesitation, she said, "They are very ugly indeed; they are about sex. A man says them to a woman, and a woman can say them to a man about his sex, too. I cannot tell you all the bad things that we say to each other when we get angry."

Quarrelling existed then, and still is, considered. The woman hangs herself; the man cuts his throat with a knife, or stabs "his heart 762

A.Garcilaso de la Vega 1-5 (pt. 1560) 1871
SELS [illegible]
ARAUCANIANS

of the Spaniards, every now and then sending fresh companies forward to engage them, and prevent them from getting any rest. This was also done that the Indians who were fatigued with fighting might retire from the conflict and refresh themselves for renewed efforts. In this way they followed and pressed upon the Spaniards, until they reached the narrow pass, killing some, and never ceasing to fight for a moment. When they reached the pass it was near sunset. The Spaniards, on seeing that the pass was occupied and guarded by the enemy, gave up all hope of escaping death, and, in order to die like Christians, they called upon the name of Christ our Lord, of the Virgin his Mother, and of the Saints for whom they felt most devotion.[1]

The Indians, seeing that the Spaniards were so tired that neither they nor their horses could do more, rushed upon them, as well those who had pursued as those who guarded the pass, and gave the horses and their riders as many wounds as they could inflict on all parts of their bodies. They hurled them on the ground, and killed them with all the rage and cruelty they could show. They took the Governor Pedro Valdivia, and a priest who accompanied him, alive, and fastened them to poles until the fight was over, intending to settle what should be done with them, at their leisure. Thus far I have given the substance of the second report that came from Chile to Peru touching the defeat and death of Valdivia, as soon as it happened, and sent by the friendly Indians who were present in the battle. Three of these escaped, having hid themselves in some bushes, during the darkness of the night; and when the Indians assembled to celebrate their victory, they came out of their hiding-place, and as men who knew their road, and were more loyal to their masters than Lautaro, they

[1] The massacre of the narrow pass does not form a feature in Ercilla's description of the battle.

3:Garcilaso de la Vega I-3 (ca. 1555) 1871
SE13 Inca
AAAMCAW#US65?

went to give news of the disaster to the Spaniards, and of the death of the famous Pedro de Valdivia and of all who were with him.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THEY KILL VALDIVIA, AND THE WAR CONTINUES FOR FIFTY YEARS.

After the arrival of the second report in Peru, the way in which the Governor Pedro de Valdivia was killed by the Indians, was described in several ways. For the three Indians[1] who escaped from the battle could not give an accurate account, because they were not eye-witnesses. Some said that his own servant, Lautaro, killed him, when he was fastened to a pole, saying to his countryman, "Why do you spare this traitor?" They said that the governor had prayed to the Indians not to kill him until his servant should come, expecting that, as he had been his servant, he would save his life. Others said, and this was the most probable account, that an old captain had killed him with a club. He may have been the same captain through whose tactics the victory was won. They killed him hastily, lest their men should accept the offers of the poor governor, and unfasten him from the pole to which he was tied. For the other Indian captains, trusting in the promises of Pedro de Valdivia, were inclined to liberate him. He offered to depart from Chile and to take with him all the Spaniards, and never to return again. But that captain, seeing the inclination of the others and that they were ready to give credit to the Governor, rose up amongst them and suddenly killed the poor knight with a club, thus ending the discussion.[2]

[1] Ercilla says that only two of the friendly Indians escaped out of three thousand.

[2] This is the account given by Ercilla. *Araucana*, Pte. I, Canto III.

InGarcilaso de la Vega I-5 (ca. 1568) 1871
8E13 Inca
Acc-no/pgs 564

He exclaimed:—"Shame upon you for being so imprudent as to believe the words of a vanquished and bound slave. Tell me! will not a man in that position promise anything? But will he fulfil his promise when he is free?"

Another story respecting this death was told by a Spaniard named Francisco de Rivera, a native of Trujillo, who was then a captain in Chile, where he possessed Indians. He came to Peru soon after the disaster, and said that the Indians passed the night after their victory in dancing and great festivity. During each dance they cut a piece out of Pedro de Valdivia, and another out of a priest who was tied up near him, and ate the pieces before them. While this cruelty was enacting, the good governor confessed his sins, as also did the priest, and at last the torments of both were ended. It may be that, after that captain killed the governor with a club, he was eaten by the Indians, not because it was their custom to eat human food—for these Indians never do so—but to show the rage they felt against him for his great deeds and for the many defeats he had inflicted upon them.

From that time they adopted the plan of forming in many separate squadrons to fight against the Spaniards, as is described by Don Alonso de Ercilla, in the first canto of his *Araucana*.[1] The war was kept up for forty-nine years,

But the commissioner is there said not to have been the leader Caupolican, but a barbarous chief named Lincoya.

[1] Hacen en campo y acometimiento en formados
Escuadrones divisibles, muy cerrados,
Cada hila de ocho de cinco caballos,
Entre una pica y otra las flecheros
Que de lejos alcanzan diestramente
Bajo la protection de los picheros
Que van hombro con hombro, como digo
Hasta meller a pies al enemigo.

Si el escuadron primero que acometio,
Por fuerza viene a ser desbaratado,
Tras passado a socorrelle otro se mete,
Que casi no da tiempo a ser notado:

McCormick de la Vega 1-6 pm. 1880 1971
8233 loop
Arrowhead 5649

and devotion which abode in them. The worst result was, that the audacity of the Indians increased with these victories, and made them look forward to committing greater horrors and devastations, and to further destruction of cities and communities. They studied their evil devices and delightful artifices, and surrounded the city of Cuzco. The Spaniards retreated into a fort, where they were continually besieged, and lived on seeds and leaves. During one of the sieges that the city endured, they broke the images of our Lord and of his Saints, through the infinite patience of God and his unutterable clemency. For he did not want power to chastise, but rather overflowed with mercy in tolerating and suffering this sacrilege. In the last siege of this fort, the Indians killed the sentries without being discovered by the Spaniards. They then entered and took the place, killing all the children, but sparing all the women and men to carry them off as captives. But, being careless over their spoils and occupied with them, they gave an opportunity for the Spaniards to rally and attack them. It pleased God to grant them success, and they succored the women and men, though with the loss of a few whom the Indians took with them. The last victory which the Indians obtained was the capture of Villaviza, where many Spaniards were killed. The enemy set the place on fire at four different points, and killed all the monks of St. Dominick, St. Francis, and of our Lady of Mercy who were there, and all the clerics. They carried off as captives all the women, who were numerous and very well entertained. Thus was destroyed a very rich city, and a place illustrious for the nobility of its citizens."

Such is the report from Chile, that arrived in the end of the year 1604; concerning which I know not what to say, except that these are secret judgments of God, who alone knows why He permits them. With this we will return to the great Yncn Yupanqui, and relate the little that remains to be said touching his life.